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 INFO: EAP (04) P (01) RA (01) CM (03) PMJ (01) UN (01) EP (02)
 ----- 03/05212 A2 DOK (TOTAL COPIES: 013)
 ACTION 10-19

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 INFO UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 09 USUN NEW YORK 00454

E.O. 12356: M/A
 TAGS: PREL, ACRC, UNSC, UN, MOPS, PHUM
 SUBJECT: UN SECURITY COUNCIL SUMMIT MEETING, JANUARY
 31, 1992

1. SUMMARY: AT THE FIRST MEETING OF THE SECURITY
 COUNCIL EVER HELD AT THE SUMMIT LEVEL, HEADS OF STATE,
 HEADS OF GOVERNMENT OR FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE FIFTEEN
 SC MEMBER STATES, INCLUDING PRESIDENT BUSH, SPOKE OF
 THEIR VIEWS OF THE UN AND THE WORLD IN THE 1990'S. AT
 THE CONCLUSION OF THE AFTERNOON SESSION, BRITISH PRIME
 MINISTER JOHN MAJOR, WHO PRESIDED OVER THE TWO SESSIONS

OF THE 3046TH MEETING OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON THE
 FINAL DAY OF THE UK'S MONTH-LONG COUNCIL PRESIDENCY
 ROTATION, MADE A STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE MEMBERS OF
 THE COUNCIL (EXCEPT) WHICH, INTER ALIA, CALLED ON THE UN
 SYG TO PREPARE A REPORT BY JULY 1 ON WAYS OF
 STRENGTHENING THE UN'S PEACEKEEPING AND PEACEMAKING
 ROLE.

2. PARTICIPANTS IN THE SC SUMMIT WERE:
 AUSTRIA - CHANCELLOR FRANZ VRANITZKY,
 BELGIUM - PRIME MINISTER WILFRIED MARTENS,
 CAPE VERDE - PRIME MINISTER CARLOS ALBERTO WAHNON DE
 -- CARVALHO VEIGA,
 CHINA - PREMIER LI PENG
 ECUADOR - PRESIDENT RODRIGO BORJA-CEVALLOS
 FRANCE - PRESIDENT FRANCOIS MITTERRAND
 HUNGARY - FOREIGN MINISTER AND PERSONAL EMISSARY
 -- OF THE PRIME MINISTER GEZA JESZENSZKY
 INDIA - PRIME MINISTER P. V. NARASIMHA RAO
 JAPAN - PRIME MINISTER KIICHI MIYAZAWA
 MOROCCO - KING HASSAN II
 RUSSIAN FEDERATION - PRESIDENT BORIS N. YELTSIN
 UNITED KINGDOM - PRIME MINISTER JOHN MAJOR
 UNITED STATES - PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
 VENEZUELA - PRESIDENT CARLOS ANDRES PEREZ
 ZIMBABWE - FOREIGN MINISTER AND PERSONAL EMISSARY
 -- OF THE PRESIDENT NATHAN SHAMUYARIRA
 UN - SECRETARY-GENERAL BOUTROS BOUTROS-GHALI

SUMMARIES OF SPEECHES FOLLOW. END SUMMARY

2. BRITISH PM MAJOR, IN HIS CAPACITY AS COUNCIL
 PRESIDENT, WELCOMED THE PARTICIPANTS TO THE MEETING
 WHICH, HE SAID, WAS INTENDED TO SERVE FOUR IMPORTANT
 PURPOSES: TO GIVE NEW UN SECRETARY GENERAL BOUTROS -
 GHALI THE SECURITY COUNCIL'S FULL BACKING IN CARRYING
 OUT HIS MANDATE; TO REAFFIRM THE COUNCIL'S ATTACHMENT TO

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 THE PRINCIPLE OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY AND TO SEND A CLEAR
 SIGNAL THAT IT IS THROUGH THE UN AND THE COUNCIL THAT
 THE MEMBERS INTEND TO DEAL WITH THREATS TO INTERNATIONAL
 PEACE AND SECURITY; TO CONSIDER HOW BEST TO UPDATE AND
 DEVELOP MEANS, INCLUDING PREVENTIVE ACTION AND
 PEACEMAKING, BY WHICH COLLECTIVE SECURITY IS UPHOLD;
 AND, FINALLY, TO COMMIT THE MEMBERSHIP AHEAD TO UPHOLDING
 INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY THROUGH REINFORCED
 MEASURES OF ARMS CONTROL.

UN SYG

3. TAKING THE FLOOR NEXT, SYG BOUTROS BOUTROS-GHALI
 OPINED THAT THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DAY'S SUMMIT
 EXCEEDED, AND INDEED ENHANCED, ITS SYMBOLIC VALUE. WHAT
 SHAPE THE EMERGING WORLD ORDER WILL TAKE, WHAT DEFENSES
 WILL BE BUILT AGAINST ANARCHY AND TERRORISM, AND HOW
 ENTRENCHED INEQUITIES CAN BE REMOVED DEPENDED GREATLY ON
 THE WISDOM, FORESIGHT AND COMPASSION OF THE WORLD'S
 LEADERSHIP. CONSEQUENTLY, HE SUGGESTED THAT IT WOULD BE
 APPROPRIATE FOR THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO CONTINUE TO MEET
 AT THE SUMMIT LEVEL PERIODICALLY TO TAKE STOCK OF THE
 STATE OF THE WORLD. SUCH MEETINGS, HE FELT, WOULD
 STRENGTHEN THE TONE AND AUTHORITY OF THE UN.

4. WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING THAT THE CONTOURS OF THE NEW
 GLOBAL ORDER ARE NOT YET CLEARLY PERCEIVABLE,
 NONETHELESS, BOUTROS-GHALI SAID, THE FOLLOWING LESSONS
 ARE ALREADY BEING DRIVEN HOME:

-- DEMOCRATIZATION AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL DICTATES A
 CORRESPONDING PROCESS AT THE GLOBAL LEVEL. GHALI SAID
 AT THE WORLD LEVEL THIS MEANT THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF
 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND THE PARTICIPATION OF ALL
 STATES IN DEVELOPING NEW NORMS OF INTERNATIONAL LIFE.
 SMALL STATES CAN PLAY LARGE CONSTRUCTIVE ROLES, HE
 EXPLAINED, ADDING THAT WHERE SUCH PARTICIPATION IS NOT

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 Case: 10001015

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 INFO UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
 IO COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE

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FULLY FORTHCOMING, IT NEEDS TO BE ENCOURAGED.

-- DEMOCRATIZATION ALONE, HOWEVER, CANNOT SOLVE ALL THE WORLD'S PROBLEMS. THE NOURISHING SOIL OF PEACE, SECURITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WAS REQUIRED. NEW WAYS OF PREVENTING BOTH INTERNAL DISPUTES AND INTERSTATE CONFRONTATIONS, HE SAID, THEREFORE, NEED TO BE DEVELOPED.

-- STATE SOVEREIGNTY HAD TAKEN ON A NEW MEANING IN THE CONTEXT OF RECENT WORLD EVENTS. THE SYG POSITED THAT WHILE VIOLATION OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY IS AN OFFENSE AGAINST THE GLOBAL ORDER, SOVEREIGNTY'S MISUSE ALSO MAY UNDERMINE HUMAN RIGHTS AND JEOPARDIZE GLOBAL LIFE. HE DECLARED THAT THE WORLD CAN NO LONGER REMAIN INDIFFERENT TO THE CARNAGE INFLICTED BY CIVIL WARS. HE CRITICIZED THE "NARROW NATIONALISM" THAT OPPOSED OR DISREGARDED THE NORMS OF A STABLE INTERNATIONAL ORDER AND "MICRO-NATIONALISM" WHICH RESISTED HEALTHY ECONOMIC OR POLITICAL INTEGRATION.

5. WARNING THAT THE FEVERS OF NATIONALISM COULD INCREASE AD INFINITUM, BOUTROS-GHALI SAID THE UN MUST BE PREPARED TO RESPOND TO THE IRREDENTIST AND PRO-AUTONOMY SCHEMES OF ETHNIC AND CULTURAL COMMUNITIES. AS PART OF THE EFFORT TO REDUCE THE CHANCES OF CONFLICT, THE UN MUST DEVELOP THE CAPABILITY TO PINPOINT POTENTIAL CONFLICTS. THIS WILL REQUIRE BETTER MEANS OF OBSERVATION AND COMMUNICATION AS WELL AS SUFFICIENT FINANCIAL FUNDING. THE SYG CONCLUDED WITH A REMINDER THAT THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD EXPECT THE UN AND ITS MEMBERS TO ACT, "THAT WE TRANSCEND OUR RIVALRIES WITH CONCILIATION AND DIALOGUE."

FRANCE

6. PRESIDENT MITTERRAND OF FRANCE OPENED BY REMINDING THE PARTICIPANTS THAT HE HAD ASKED FOR SUCH A SUMMIT AT THE END OF THE GULF WAR IN ORDER TO DEFINE THE ROLE OF

THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. SAYING THAT THE FIRST RESPONSIBILITY OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL IS TO PREVENT "WAR, EXODUS, AND TERRORISM," THE FRENCH PRESIDENT OFFERED THE FOLLOWING THOUGHTS FOR ENHANCING GLOBAL SECURITY DURING A PERIOD OF WORLD CRISIS:

-- ARMS CONTROL: MITTERRAND SAID ARMS TRANSFERS MUST BE REDUCED. HE URGED ALL STATES TO SIGN THE TREATY BANNING CHEMICAL WEAPONS AND RECALLED THAT FRANCE WAS IN THE PROCESS OF RATIFYING THE NPT. HE DID CAUTION, HOWEVER, THAT WHILE THE NUCLEAR POWERS MUST ENGAGE IN NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, THEY MUST ALSO ENSURE THAT THEIR SECURITY IS SAFEGUARDED. CONSEQUENTLY, LARGE DIFFERENCES IN THE RESPECTIVE NUCLEAR ARMS HOLDINGS OF THOSE STATES WERE TO BE AVOIDED.

-- ENVIRONMENT: MITTERRAND SAID THE UPCOMING UN CONFERENCE ON ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT MUST ADOPT A BROAD VIEW WHICH CONSIDERED BOTH THE NEED TO PROTECT THE ENVIRONMENT AS WELL AS THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES TO MAKE ECONOMIC PROGRESS.

-- DEMOCRACY: MITTERRAND, IN A FORCED BIT OF LOGIC, SAID THAT DEMOCRACY BEGINS IN THE SCHOOLS AND "THUS THE ROLE OF UNESCO." HE URGED ALL STATES WHICH HAD WITHDRAWN FROM THAT ORGANIZATION TO RETURN.

-- COLLECTIVE SECURITY: MITTERRAND ANNOUNCED THAT FRANCE WAS READY TO MAKE AVAILABLE TO THE UN "WITHIN FORTY-EIGHT HOURS" NOTICE A 1000-MAN CONTINGENT TO PARTICIPATE IN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS. HE PROPOSED IN

ADDITION THAT THE UN MILITARY STAFF COMMITTEE BE REVITALIZED. THE FRENCH PRESIDENT ALSO URGED MEMBER STATES TO PAY UP THEIR UN ARREARAGES.

-- DISARMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT: THE FRENCH PRESIDENT CALLED FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF REGIONAL FUNDS WHICH WOULD ASSIST STATES, PARTICULARLY THOSE OF THE FORMER U.S.S.R., TO CONVERT FROM MILITARY TO CIVILIAN PRODUCTION.

-- NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES: MITTERRAND SUGGESTED THAT THE PROBLEMS OF THOSE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WHICH ARE

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 INFO UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
 TO COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 09 USUM NEW YORK 00154

E. 0.12356: N/A
 TAGS: PREL, AORC, UNSC, UN, MOPS, PHUM
 SUBJECT: UN SECURITY COUNCIL SUMMIT MEETING, JANUARY 31, 1992

EXPERIENCING REAL AND MULTIFACETED ECONOMIC PROGRESS SHOULD BE DEALT WITH SEPARATELY THAN THOSE WHICH ARE MAKING NO HEADWAY. FOR THE FORMER, HE URGED PRIVATE INVESTMENT AND GOVERNMENTAL AID WHILE FOR THE LATTER HE PROPOSED THAT THE ISSUE OF PRIMARY COMMODITIES BE EXAMINED WITH AN EYE TOWARD REDUCING THE NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF COMMODITIES SPECULATION.

-- SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT: HE PROPOSED A WORLD SUMMIT ON SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

EQUADOR

7. ECUADORAN PRESIDENT RODRIGO BORJA-CEVALLOS DEVOTED HIS STATEMENT LARGELY TO A PHILOSOPHICAL EXAMINATION OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT WHICH HE TERMED THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE FACING THE WORLD TODAY. REFERRING TO ROUSSEAU AND OTHER PHILOSOPHERS, HE ARGUED THAT THE WORLD'S PEOPLE HAD ARRIVED AT A STAGE WHERE THE QUALITY OF LIFE, INCLUDING HUMAN RIGHTS, HUMAN FREEDOM, CULTURE AND ENVIRONMENT, HAD TAKEN ON GREATER IMPORTANCE THAN PURE QUANTITATIVE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. THREATENING THIS QUALITY OF LIFE, HOWEVER, WERE THE CONTINUING PROBLEMS OF WAR, XENOPHOBIA, RACISM AND "SENSELESS" INTERNATIONALISM. IT WAS MORE IMPORTANT THAN EVER, THEREFORE, THAT STATES JOIN IN ORGANIZATIONS TO ADDRESS THESE PROBLEMS. ASSERTING THAT THE UN'S PRIMARY MISSION WAS TO ESTABLISH A NEW ORDER IN WHICH THE POORER NATIONS SHARE IN THE BENEFITS OF GLOBAL PROGRESS, THE ECUADORAN PRESIDENT CONCLUDED BY URGING THE UN TO TAKE A LEADING ROLE IN TRANSFERRING TO HUMAN DEVELOPMENT THE ECONOMIC RESOURCES WHICH HAVE BEEN RELEASED AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE END OF THE COLD WAR.

MOROCCO

8. KING HASSAN, SPEAKING ON BEHALF OF ARABS AND

AFRICANS, STRESSED THE USE OF PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY, DIALOGUE AND MEDIATION TO PREVENT ARMED CONFLICTS. HE ENCOURAGED UN REFORM, LOOKING FORWARD TO CONCRETE PROPOSALS FOR STRENGTHENING THE ORGANS OF THE UN AND IMPROVING THEIR FUNCTIONING. HE ADVOCATED DISARMAMENT, NOT ONLY IN THE NUCLEAR FIELD, BUT ALSO OF CHEMICAL

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 WEAPONS THROUGH THE GENEVA TREATY. THE KING CITED UNDERDEVELOPMENT AS THE GREATEST CHALLENGE FACING THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, REFERRING SPECIFICALLY TO THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF AFRICA. HE ALSO TOOK THE OCCASION TO MENTION THAT MOROCCO HAD NOT "FOUND THE UNDERSTANDING TO WHICH IT IS ENTITLED" WITHIN THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU).

9. KING HASSAN WENT ON TO MENTION THE NEED FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO RESOLVE THE PLIGHT OF THE PALESTINIANS. HE SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED THE STATUS OF JERUSALEM, THE WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAEL FROM OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, AND THE RETURN OF REFUGEES TO THEIR HOMELAND. THE KING ALSO NOTED THE IMPORTANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND MOROCCO'S CENTURIES-OLD TRADITION OF RESPECTING HUMAN DIGNITY.

RUSSIAN FEDERATION

10. ON DISARMAMENT, BORIS YELTSIN CALLED FOR DEEP CUTS IN STRATEGIC DEFENSIVE ARMS AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS LEADING TO A POLICY OF MINIMUM DEFENSE, AS WELL AS REDUCTION OF CHEMICAL AND BACTERIOLOGICAL WEAPONS AND WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION. HE ACKNOWLEDGED RUSSIA'S RESPONSIBILITIES

TOWARDS NUCLEAR PHYSICISTS AND PROMISED TO SET UP CENTERS OF RESEARCH TO KEEP THEM OCCUPIED. HE PROPOSED A GLOBAL SYSTEM OF DEFENSE, USING RUSSIAN ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY TO REORIENT SDI. HE ALSO PROPOSED A PAN-EUROPEAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEM UNDER THE AUSPICES OF CSCE, SINCE THE U.S. AND THE WEST CAN NOW BE CONSIDERED RUSSIA'S ALLIES. YELTSIN REITERATED THAT THE COMMONWEALTH WAS WORKING ON A SINGLE COMMAND TO PROVIDE UNIFIED CONTROL OF THEIR NUCLEAR ARMS.

11. YELTSIN UNDERLINED THE IMPORTANCE TO THE ENTIRE WORLD OF THE SUCCESS OF ECONOMIC REFORM IN RUSSIA,

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PLEDGE BY CIS STATES TO ABIDE BY THE NPT, PARTICULARLY
STRESSING THE NEED TO KEEP NUCLEAR WEAPONS OUT OF THE
HANDS OF TERRORISTS OR RENEGADE REGIMES.

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UNCLAS SECTION 84 OF 89 USUM NEW YORK 88454

E.O. 12956: N/A
TAGS: PREL, AORC, UNSC, UN, MOPS, PHUM
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POINTING OUT THE NEED FOR LEGAL, POLITICAL AND SOCIOECONOMIC GUARANTEES TO ENSURE THE CHANGES TOWARDS DEMOCRACY WERE PERMANENT. HE INDICATED THAT RUSSIA WOULD SOON PASS LEGISLATION PROTECTING HUMAN FREEDOM, HONOR AND DIGNITY. HE SAID THAT WITH THE RECENT RELEASE OF THE LAST POLITICAL PRISONERS, THERE WERE NO MORE PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE IN RUSSIA. HE ALSO TOUCHED ON THE IMPORTANCE OF THE UHCR AND INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS

ON MIGRATION. HE NOTED THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL HAD A RESPONSIBILITY TO UPHOLD HUMAN RIGHTS.

12. YELTSIN ENDORSED THE RAPID RESPONSE MECHANISM
ADVOCATED BY PRESIDENT MITTERAND TO DEAL WITH CRISIS
SITUATIONS. HE AFFIRMED THAT RUSSIA WOULD BE MORE
ENGAGED IN PEACEKEEPING, INCLUDING YUGOSLAVIA,
AFGHANISTAN, THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST, CAMBODIA, AND
OTHERS. HE CALLED FOR INCREASED UTILIZATION OF THE
INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE (ICJ) TO ACCOMPLISH THE
PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES. HE CHARACTERIZED THE
WAR AGAINST IRAQ AS "JUST PUNISHMENT OF AN AGGRESSOR."

13. YELTSIN SUPPORTED UN REFORM, CALLING FOR THE ELIMINATION OF UN ACTIVITIES WHICH WERE UNPRODUCTIVE AND IRRELEVANT. HE OFFERED THAT RUSSIA WOULD MAKE PROPOSALS IN THAT REGARD IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

UNITED STATES

14. IN A PRESENTATION REAFFIRMING US SUPPORT FOR A STRONG, ACTIVE UN, PRESIDENT BUSH PRAISED THE UN'S EFFORTS TOWARDS PEACE IN THE FIELDS OF PEACEKEEPING, PEACEMAKING AND PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY. IN EMPHASIZING THE UNIVERSAL APPLICABILITY OF HUMAN RIGHTS, HE POINTED OUT THAT TRUE DEMOCRACY INVOLVED RECOGNIZING THE SANCTITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL AGAINST THE UNJUST POWER OF THE STATE AND A RESPECT FOR MINORITY RIGHTS, RATHER THAN THE MERE HOLDING OF AN ELECTION.

15. BUSH CALLED FOR A BAN ON CHEMICAL WEAPONS IN 1992 AND POINTED TO THE UNILATERAL STEPS TAKEN BY THE U.S. TO REDUCE NUCLEAR WEAPONS. HE PROMISED THAT HE AND PRESIDENT YELTSIN WOULD SEARCH FOR WAYS TO ACHIEVE FURTHER MUTUAL ARMS REDUCTION. HE RECOGNIZED THE CONTINUED DANGER OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION DESPITE THE

16. THE PRESIDENT URGED THE COUNCIL-TO MAINTAIN SANCTIONS AGAINST IRAQ, AND SADDAM HUSSEIN. HE POINTED OUT THE DANGERS INHERENT IN IRAQ'S CAPABILITY TO BUILD WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION. HE REAFFIRMED THEIR COULD BE NO NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH IRAQ AS LONG AS HUSSEIN REMAINED IN POWER. THE EVENTS IN THE GULF, HE SAID, SHOWED THAT SECURITY WAS A SHARED RESPONSIBILITY. HE ALSO CALLED UPON LIBYA TO COMPLY WITH THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION PASSED TWO WEEKS AGO DEMANDING THE LIBYANS TURN OVER THOSE ACCUSED IN THE BOMBING OF PAN AM 101.

VENEZUELA

17. PRESIDENT PEREZ NOTED THAT DISARMAMENT WAS NOT EXCLUSIVELY A SUPERPOWER ISSUE, AND CALLED THE COUNCIL'S ATTENTION TO THE DECLARATION OF THE RIO GROUP. HE WENT ON TO SPEAK OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ENVIRONMENT AND NATURAL RESOURCES, HUMAN RIGHTS, NORTH/SOUTH RELATIONS, A SUMMIT ON SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, A SUMMIT ON DRUG

TRAFFICKING, AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT. HE CALLED FOR AN END TO INEQUALITY BETWEEN RICH AND POOR NATIONS, AND UNDERSCORED THE NEED FOR ENHANCED SOUTH/SOUTH RELATIONS.

AUSTRIA

18. CHANCELLOR VRANKITZKY NAMED FOUR MAJOR ISSUES: PEACEMAKING AND PEACEKEEPING, DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL, HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEMOCRACY, AND MEASURES AGAINST POVERTY. HE SUGGESTED THE SC CONSIDER EARLY REACTION TO POTENTIAL CONFLICTS, INCLUDING THE EARLY DEPLOYMENT OF PEACEKEEPING FORCES AT THE REQUEST OF ONLY

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ONE PARTY TO A CONFLICT. WE AFFIRMED THAT INTERNAL CONFLICTS, SUCH AS THAT IN YUGOSLAVIA, COULD HAVE REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL REPERCUSSIONS ON PEACE AND SECURITY.

19. WE NOTED THE NEW RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE SC TO PROTECT HUMAN RIGHTS, SUPERVISE ELECTIONS AND ENFORCE PEACE. WE CALLED THE COUNCIL'S ATTENTION TO ARTICLES 43

AND 26 OF THE UN CHARTER. VRANITZKY PRAISED BUSH AND YELTSIN FOR THEIR MILITARY CUTS, CITED THE NEED FOR REDUCTION IN MILITARY BUDGETS AND CHEMICAL WEAPONS, AND LOOKED FORWARD TO A NUCLEAR-FREE WORLD. HE URGED THAT THE IAEA PLAY A CENTRAL ROLE IN THE DESTRUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. HE ADVISED THAT THE PEACE DIVIDEND COULD BE USED TO PROMOTE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT. HE MENTIONED THE IMPORTANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS, AND CALLED FOR A STRENGTHENING OF THE ICJ. HE CONCLUDED WITH A CALL FOR THE SC TO ACT EVEN-HANDEDLY AND IMPARTIALLY, ON BEHALF OF ALL STATES.

BELGIUM

20. PM MARTENS CALLED FOR REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS ROUTINELY TO BE INCLUDED IN SC CONSIDERATIONS. HE CITED THE EC'S DECISION AT MAASTRICHT TO INCREASE COOPERATION WITH THE SC. HE ALSO MENTIONED THE NEED FOR AN ARMS TRANSFER REGISTER AND CONTROL OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION.

21. HE ENCOURAGED THE SYG TO REACT RAPIDLY TO CONFLICTS BEFORE THEY ESCALATED INTO VIOLENCE. HE CALLED UPON THE SC TO SUPPORT EARLY SYG INITIATIVES IN DELICATE SITUATIONS. HE SUGGESTED MECHANISMS FOR THE SC TO ENSURE THE SYG'S EARLY ENGAGEMENT, SUCH AS REQUESTING AN SYG REPORT ON A SITUATION, ASKING HIM TO CONTACT PARTIES TO A CONFLICT, OR ASKING HIM FOR CONCRETE PROPOSALS TO PREVENT DETERIORATION OF A TENSE SITUATION. MARTENS ADVOCATED CREATION OF BUDGETARY RESERVES TO ENSURE THAT

NEEDED FUNDS WOULD BE AVAILABLE TO FINANCE PRELIMINARY STAGES OF PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS. HE ALSO CALLED UPON THE SECRETARIAT TO TIGHTEN ITS MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION. HE STATED THAT BELGIAN TROOPS WOULD BE TRAINED FOR RAPID DEPLOYMENT ON PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS.

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 22. MARTENS ENJOINED THE SYG TO FOCUS ON HUMAN RIGHTS AS AN INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY. HE STATED THE SC SHOULD DEAL WITH VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. TO FACILITATE THE SUPERVISION OF FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS, HE RECOMMENDED COMPILING A LIST OF NATIONAL CIVIL SERVANTS WHO COULD BE QUICKLY DEPLOYED FOR ELECTORAL PURPOSES. HE CONCLUDED WITH A CALL FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND A DIALOGUE BETWEEN RICH AND POOR ON HUNGER, DISEASE, ILLITERACY AND POLLUTION.

CAPE VERDE

23. PM VEIGA FOCUSED ON THE PROBLEMS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, THE ENVIRONMENT, POVERTY, UNDERDEVELOPMENT, AND ARMS CONTROL. HE PRAISED THE ACTION OF THE SC IN RESTORING KUWAIT'S INDEPENDENCE, AND POINTED OUT THE SC WAS THE GUARDIAN OF SECURITY FOR SMALL NATIONS. HE STRESSED THAT CONSENSUS WITHIN THE COUNCIL WOULD ENHANCE THE SC'S CREDIBILITY. HE URGED THAT THE COUNCIL REACT EVENHANDEDLY TO AGGRESSION AND NOT IMPLEMENT RESOLUTIONS SELECTIVELY. VEIGA ARGUED THAT NATIONAL CONFLICTS DEMAND A RESPONSE BY THE SC, SINCE THEY ENTAIL LOSS OF LIFE AND CREATION OF REFUGEES. HE NAMED POVERTY, UNDERDEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS AS THE ROOT CAUSES

OF INSTABILITY, AND CALLED FOR A WORLD CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

CHINA

24. PM LI PENG OBSERVED THAT THE END OF THE COLD WAR HAS GIVEN THE SC A GREATER ROLE IN PRESERVING INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. HE NOTED THAT IN CONTRAST TO THE TURBULENCE IN EUROPE RESULTING FROM ETHNIC STRIFE, ASIA AND THE PACIFIC ARE STABLE. THE CAMBODIAN PEACE PROCESS IS ON TRACK AND THE SITUATION IN THE KOREAN PENINSULA IS MOVING TOWARDS RELAXATION AND STABILITY. HE POINTED OUT THAT MANY ASIAN STATES ENJOY

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HIGH ECONOMIC GROWTH DUE TO STABILITY AT HOME.

25. LI PENG SAID THAT CHINA HAS POLITICAL STABILITY, SOCIAL HARMONY AND SUSTAINABLE ECONOMIC GROWTH. HE OBSERVED THAT CHINA UNDERSTOOD MODERNIZATION WILL TAKE A LONG TIME AND REQUIRE EXTENDED INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND TRANQUILITY AT HOME.

26. LI PENG STRESSED THAT ALL SHOULD RESPECT THE SOVEREIGNTY OF MEMBER STATES AND THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS. HE AFFIRMED THAT PEOPLES AND GOVERNMENTS ARE ENTITLED TO ADOPT THE SOCIAL SYSTEM AND IDENTITY OF THEIR OWN CHOICE. HUMAN RIGHTS SHOULD BE UNIVERSALLY RESPECTED; HE ARGUED, BUT HUMAN RIGHTS INCLUDE NOT ONLY CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS BUT ALSO ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS. HE SAID HUMAN RIGHTS MUST BE VIEWED WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF EACH COUNTRY AND THAT IT IS NOT APPROPRIATE TO DEMAND THAT ALL COUNTRIES LIVE UP TO THE STANDARDS OF A SMALL GROUP OF STATES. HE EXPRESSED HIS OPPOSITION TO THE USE OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AS AN EXCUSE TO INTERFERE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF STATES.

INDIA

27. INDIA PM RAO SAID THAT THE ACTIONS OF THE SC MUST FLOW FROM THE COLLECTIVE WILL OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY, NOT JUST FROM THE VIEWS OF A FEW MEMBERS STATES. HE ARGUED THAT SINCE THE SIZE OF THE UNGA HAS TREBLED THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL CAN NOT REMAIN CONSTANT. RAO ALSO POINTED OUT THAT ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST ONE COUNTRY MAY HAVE CATASTROPHIC CONSEQUENCES FOR ITS TRADING PARTNERS AND THE SECURITY COUNCIL MUST TAKE STEPS TO DEAL WITH THE SUFFERING CAUSED BY SUCH SANCTIONS.

28. RAO STRESSED THAT THERE MUST BE A BALANCE BETWEEN THE DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE DEFENSE OF NATIONAL

INTEGRITY. HE CRITICIZED THOSE WHO DEFEND THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF TERRORISTS WHILE PUTTING GOVERNMENTS IN THE DOCK FOR SUPPOSED HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

29. TURNING TO THE ISSUE OF DISARMAMENT RAO SAID THAT REGIONAL ARRANGEMENTS ARE NOT SUFFICIENT TO DEAL WITH

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THE PROBLEMS OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION. HE CALLED FOR A
GLOBAL APPROACH TO NON-PROLIFERATION LINKED TO COMPLETE
NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT BY THE END OF THIS CENTURY AND
RECALLED THE ACTION PLAN OF FORMER PM RAJIV GANDHI FOR
NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT. IN THAT REGARD, HE POINTED OUT
THAT INDIA WAS IN SOME RESPECTS A DIFFERENT POINT OF
VIEW ON SOME POINTS IN THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT TO
WHICH IT HAD AGREED, AS HIS STATEMENT HAD MADE CLEAR.

JAPAN

38. PM MIYAZAWA PLEDGED TO DO HIS UPMOST TO HAVE THE
DIET APPROVE THE NECESSARY LEGISLATION TO ALLOW JAPAN TO
PARTICIPATE IN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS. HE OBSERVED
THAT THE FUNCTIONS AND COMPOSITION OF UN ORGANS MUST BE
ADAPTED TO MAKE THEM MORE EFFECTIVE IN THIS NEW ERA.
LOOKING AHEAD TO THE 1995 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UN,
MIYAZAWA SUGGESTED THAT A DISCUSSION BEGIN REGARDING
INCREASING THE UN'S EFFECTIVENESS, INCLUDING
CONSIDERATION OF THE UN'S STRUCTURE AND COMPOSITION.
WITH RESPECT TO CONFLICT PREVENTION, HE PROPOSED THAT
THE SYG SHOULD BE GIVEN SUFFICIENT INFORMATION REGARDING
TENSIONS WHICH COULD ESCALATE INTO AN INTERNATIONAL
CONFLICTS. HE NOTED IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF COUNTRIES

WITH SOPHISTICATED INFORMATION GATHERING CAPABILITIES
WOULD PROVIDE INFORMATION TO THE SYC.

71. MIYAZAWA STRESSED THAT A SOUND FINANCIAL BASE IS ESSENTIAL FOR THE UN TO EFFECTIVELY DISCHARGE ITS FUNCTIONS. HE POINTED OUT THAT AS OF THE END OF 1991 ABOUT \$800 MILLION US DOLLARS OF ASSESSED CONTRIBUTIONS ARE STILL OUTSTANDING. HE ADDED THAT THE UN NEEDS TO OBTAIN FUNDS FOR PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS AT AN EARLY STAGE AND URGED COUNTRIES TO MAKE AN VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PEACEKEEPING TRUST FUND.

32. MIYAZAWA WELCOMED THE DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS

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RECENTLY PUT FORWARD RESPECTIVELY BY PRESIDENTS BUSH AND YELTSIN. HE CALLED UPON SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERS TO WORK TO ENSURE THE SMOOTH IMPLEMENTATION OF THE UN REGISTRY OF ARMS TRANSFERS. HE SAID THE FUNCTIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE SHOULD BE ENHANCED. HE NOTED THAT THE NORTH/ SOUTH GAP WAS A THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE. MIYAZAWA SAID THAT IN AN ADDITION TO MILITARY THREATS TO PEACE AND SECURITY THE SECRETARY

GENERAL SHOULD BRING TO THE ATTENTION OF THE APPROPRIATE
 UN ORGANS SUCH NON-MILITARY THREATS TO PEACE AND
 SECURITY AS THE ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS AND INCREASING
 POVERTY.

HUNGARY

33. PM GEZA JESZENSZKY CHARACTERIZED THE OPERATION AGAINST IRAQI AS A LANDMARK IN UN HISTORY, BOTH BECAUSE OF THE LIBERATION OF KUWAIT AND THE HUMANITARIAN OPERATION TO SAVE THE KURDS. RECALLING THE 1956 SOVIET INVASION OF HUNGARY, JESZENSZKY SAID THAT THE UN SHOULD NOT LEAVE PEOPLES TO FEND FOR THEMSELVES IN THEIR STRUGGLES FOR SELF-DETERMINATION. CALLING RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE RIGHTS OF MINORITIES AN INTEGRAL PART OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY HE CONCLUDED THAT THE OPERATION AGAINST IRAQ IS A PRECEDENT WHICH DESERVES UNRESERVED SUPPORT.

34. TURNING TO HIS OWN REGION, JESZCZESZYKI NOTED THAT THE COLLAPSE OF THE FORMER USSR WAS RESULTING IN A RUINED ECONOMY, ETHNIC TENSIONS AND A LACK OF CLEAR CONTROLS OVER ITS NUCLEAR ARSENAL. HE EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR THE EFFORTS OF THE MEMBERS OF THE CIS TO BUILD TIES TO THE WORLD COMMUNITY AND THE OSCE PROCESS. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN FOR THE PLIGHT OF THOUSANDS OF ETHNIC HUNGARIANS IN YUGOSLAVIA, WHOSE RIGHTS WOULD BE PROTECTED BY THE ESTABLISHMENT OF TERRITORIAL AND CULTURAL AUTONOMIES AS PROPOSED BY LORD CARRINGTON. HE OFFERED HUNGARY'S SUPPORT FOR THE DEPLOYMENT OF A UN PEACEKEEPING FORCE IN

YUGOSLAVIA AND EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT SUCH A PEACE
KEEPING FORCE, COUPLED WITH THE COMPLETE EMBARGO ON ARMS
SHIPMENTS, WILL LEAD TO AN OVERALL POLITICAL
SETTLEMENT. HE ADDED THAT THE ENTRY OF THE FORMER
YUGOSLAV REPUBLICS IN THE UN MIGHT HELP BRING ABOUT A
SETTLEMENT

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35. JESZESZKY SAID THE CREATION OF A UN FORCE WHICH COULD BE DEPLOYED ON SHORT NOTICE MERITED STUDY, AS WELL AS A SUMMIT ON SOCIAL QUESTIONS. HE ADDED THAT EASTERN EUROPE FACED A CRITICAL TASK OF HUMAN RECONVERSION: THE RETRAINING OF SOLDIERS, WEAPONS SCIENTISTS AND OTHERS FOR PRODUCTIVE LIVES IN PEACEFUL, DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES.

ZIMBABWE

36. ZIMBABWE'S FM KATHAN SHAMUYARIRA SAID THE OAU LOOKS TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO DEMOCRATIZE THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM. HE ARGUED THAT THE UN CHARTER MUST BE RE-EXAMINED CLOSELY TO REFLECT NEW CIRCUMSTANCES. HE NOTED THAT THE SC HAS APPROVED PEACE KEEPING FORCES OF TYPES NEVER CONSIDERED IN THE CHARTER SO THE CASE FOR REFORM IS URGENT. HE ADDED THAT THE OAU WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE SYG AND THE UN PLAY A GREATER ROLE IN RESOLVING CIVIL STRIFE IN AFRICA. HE ALSO SAID THE SC MUST CONSIDER THE EFFECTS OF ECONOMIC SANCTIONS ON STATES THAT ARE THE TRADING PARTNERS OF THE COUNTRY TARGETED BY THE SANCTIONS ("VICTIM STATES"), AS WELL AS ON INNOCENT CIVILIAN POPULATIONS.

37. SHAMUYAIRA SAID A COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEM LIABLE TO A VETO BY ONE OF THE PERM FIVE IS NOT RELIABLE, SINCE THE SC WILL NOT BE ABLE TO ACT IN CONFLICTS WHERE ONE OF THE PERM FIVE HAVE AN INTEREST. HE PROPOSED THAT PERM FIVE MEMBERS NOT BE ELIGIBLE TO PARTICIPATE IN VOTES REGARDING CONFLICT WHERE THEY HAVE AN INTEREST. HE CALLED FOR A GREATER ROLE FOR THE SC'S MILITARY STAFF COMMITTEE (MSC), SO THAT FUTURE COLLECTIVE SECURITY EFFORTS ARE MORE ACCOUNTABLE TO THE COUNCIL THAN THE GULF WAR, AND FOR PARTICIPATION IN THE MSC BY NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

38. SHAMUYARIKA WELCOMED THE EFFORTS OF THE PEAK FIVE

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TO FIND CONSENSUS AND AVOID USING THE VETO. HE EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE VETO WOULD FALL INTO DISUSE AND/OR BE ABOLISHED. HE EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR PROPOSALS TO EXPAND THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE SC, NOTING THAT ONE REGION (I.E., EUROPE) IS CLEARLY OVER-REPRESENTED ON THE COUNCIL. HE BEHOARED THE FACT THAT AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA ARE NOT REPRESENTED AMONG THE RANKS OF THE PERMANENT MEMBERS, AND RECALLED THE GAO PROPOSAL THAT

DISCUSSIONS REGARDING RESTRUCTURING THE UN'S ORGANS SHOULD TAKE PLACE IN THE UNGA.

39. HE CALLED FOR ALL STATES TO SUPPORT THE UN'S ARMS TRANSFER REGISTRY AND FOR THE CONVERSION OF THE PARTIAL TEST BAN INTO A COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN. HE SAID THE UN CHARTER ALREADY PROVIDED FOR A SYSTEM OF REGULATION OF ARMAMENTS, WHICH COULD HAVE BEEN USED TO IM LIEU OF RES. 687 AND WHICH STILL MAY PLAY A ROLE IN A THE WIDER MIDDLE EAST DISARMAMENT PROCESS UNDER RES. 687.

40. WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING THE IMPORTANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS, SHAMUYARIRA SAID THAT HUMAN RIGHTS CAN NOT BE USED AS AN EXCUSE TO INTERFERE IN INTERNAL MATTER OR TO DESTABILIZE A GOVERNMENT. HE ALSO TOUCHED UPON A SERIES OF HAM THEMES, INCLUDING THE LINK BETWEEN DISARMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT AND THE WIDENING NORTH/SOUTH GAP. HIS SPEECH WAS FOLLOWED BY PROLONGED APPLAUSE, THE LONGEST OF THE DAY.

UNITED KINGDOM

41. BRITISH PM MAJOR, SPEAKING LAST IN HIS NATIONAL CAPACITY, SAID THAT THE SUMMIT WAS TAKING PLACE TO CELEBRATE THE APPOINTMENT OF THE NEW SYG AND THE CREATION OF A NEW WORLD POWER, RUSSIA, AND ALSO TO REVITALIZE THE UN MEMBERSHIP'S SENSE OF PURPOSE. MAJOR PROCEEDED TO TICK OFF A SERIES OF ISSUES WHICH HE SAID SHOULD BE PART OF THE REVITALIZATION PROCESS INCLUDING:

--HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION: REFERRING TO THE AFTERMATH OF THE GULF WAR AND THE PLIGHT OF THE KURDS AND SHI'ITES UNDER SADDAM HUSSEIN, MAJOR SAID THE UN CANNOT LAY DOWN THE SHIELD (UNSC RES. 688) WHICH HAS BEEN PROVIDED TO PROTECT IRAQ'S VULNERABLE COMMUNITIES. MAJOR ADDED THAT THERE WILL BE OTHER SUCH CRISES ELSEWHERE AND THAT

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 PEOPLE EVERYWHERE WILL EXPECT ONE UN TO REACT. HE SAID THAT THE UN COULD AND THAT IT COULD BE DONE WITH FULL RESPECT FOR CHARTER PRINCIPLES.

--LIBYA: LIBYA MUST RESPOND POSITIVELY TO THE DEMANDS THE SECURITY COUNCIL HAS MADE OF IT IN SC RES. 731.

--PREVENTATIVE DIPLOMACY: MAJOR SAID THE UNREALIZED POTENTIAL OF THE UN CHARTER SHOULD BE EXPLOITED IN THIS FIELD. HE CALLED ON THE NEW SYG TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE IN DRAWING POTENTIAL CONFLICTS TO THE ATTENTION OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL. MAJOR ALSO SUGGESTED THAT "PEACEMAKING AND PEACEKEEPING" SHOULD RUN IN PARALLEL AND THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT FOR THE SYG TO PRESENT THE COUNCIL WITH HIS IDEAS ON HOW THIS MAY BE DONE.

--ARMS CONTROL: MAJOR SAID THERE WERE THREE PRIORITIES. FIRST, WHAT HAS ALREADY BEEN AGREED TO MUST BE IMPLEMENTED INCLUDING START AND CFC. SECOND, STATES MUST COMMIT THEMSELVES TO FURTHER MEASURES OF DISARMAMENT WITH SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THE CHEMICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION. THIRD, EACH STATE MUST ENSURE THAT IT HAS ARRANGEMENTS IN PLACE TO PREVENT PROLIFERATION AND TO DISCOURAGE ACCUMULATION OF LETHAL WEAPONS. MAJOR ANNOUNCED THAT THE UK WAS BEGUN ACTING TO STRENGTHEN

CONTROLS ON THE EXPORT OF SPECIFIC BIOLOGICAL MATERIALS AND ORGANISMS WHICH COULD BE MISUSED FOR WEAPONS PURPOSES.

MAJOR CONCLUDED BY NOTING THAT THE 1990'S WILL BE A DECADE OF TRANSFORMATION IN EUROPE MARKED BY THE TASKS OF REBUILDING ECONOMIES SMOTHERED BY COMMUNISM, AND IN ROOTING DEMOCRACY FIRMLY IN THE SOIL OF OPEN POLITICS AND FREE MARKETS. THE COMMUNIST EMPIRE, SAID MAJOR, HAD BEQUEATHED A HOST OF POTENTIAL PROBLEMS BETWEEN PEOPLES AND STATES, PROBLEMS WHICH THE UN CAN PLAY A KEY ROLE IN RESOLVING THROUGH IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF

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THE CHARTER.

THE BRITISH PM THEN, AS COUNCIL PRESIDENT, READ OUT THE
SUMMIT DECLARATION BEFORE ADJOURNING THE MEETING.

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